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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART X

"YEARS OF THE ASSASSINS"

(22 Apr - 19 Jul 1936)
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Major, Field Artillery
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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 201
(22 April 1936)

Arita's Efforts

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the 11th I met with the Prime Minister and left a message for TERAUCHI, War Minister. I asked him to relay what Prince SAIONJI had told me: "It would be better if the present incident could be settled comparatively soon and with a heavy penalty for the offenders so that the public will say it was handled much better than expected." The Prime Minister replied: "I have the same idea. I shall discuss it with him thoroughly."

Regarding the Russian problem, he (Prime Minister) said: "The young officers have gone quite deeply into Russian territory. It is a fact that they have gone 700 meters beyond the border. Regarding Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU who is going to resign presently, I would like to have him Imperially nominated (to the House of Peers), remaining in Tokyo, or to send him out as Ambassador. In the long run, if we cannot send him out as Ambassador, I am thinking of having him Imperially nominated." As to the problem of a governor-general for Formosa, he said: "If the matter becomes complicated, I shall appoint General KOBAYASHI."

As I left the Prime Minister's place, OTSUKA of the Asahi Shimbun came. He said: "KUHARA, TSUGUMO and KAMEKAWA all seem to have confessed to the Kempei-Tai."

I went to the Foreign Ministry and met with Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU. He said: "The Army is setting up very elaborate organizations at Shanghai and Tientsin. I wonder if, in the long run, the Army intends to take

control of diplomatic relations with China."

On the 12th I visited Foreign Minister ARITA at his official residence. ARITA, Foreign Minister, said earnestly: "The strengthening and enlarging of the North China Occupation Army was already decided upon during the previous Cabinet. The Army has been pressing the matter, but I think that further consideration of the timing and method is necessary. I instructed the bureau and section chiefs of the Foreign Ministry to have the young men (of the Foreign Ministry and Army) first make preliminary arrangements with the Army and then carry the matter out. Further, the Emperor is quite anxious about the North China problem. I have not yet reported to him about my visit to Nanking and inspection of North China and the fact that I met with members of the Kwantung Army and heard about the situation in Manchukuo, etc. After I have first reported about these matters to the Emperor, I think that I shall consider deliberately this matter of strengthening and enlarging the North China Occupation Army. Before this, as I have stated previously, the young men of the Foreign Ministry and of the Army, i.e., the men in the lower ranks, should be gotten together.

"The Russian problem is not going the way the negotiating officials hoped it would so the solution is difficult. The Dispute Settlement Committee has come to agree with Russia to join that matter with the settlement of national boundaries. The opinions of Manchukuo and Outer Mongolia are far apart. The situation is quite complicated, since an Outer Mongolian Assistance Treaty has been made with Russia. Therefore I think that it would be better

for Japan if this problem were settled as soon as possible. The ideas of the Japanese officials in Manchukuo are biased. The ideas of these Japanese officials will first have to be changed. We must put aside for the present the reason why they became that way. In any case, Russia is assembling arms in the Far East, and there is a need to make a protest about this right now. I think that this is the ultimate problem.

Also, it is quite difficult to get China to acknowledge the three principles, and I do not think it advisable to stick to them. It is very hard to turn Japan-China relations for the better while we interfere in North China. We must, therefore, at present exert our efforts to better our relations with Russia. By doing so, I think that we can bring about a change in our North China policy. As I see it now, it is a policy of separation (of North China from China Proper). Naturally, this is not good for China, and neither does it impart a good feeling to other nations. I think that there is no other road for us to take but another method by which the antipathy of China and other nations will be lessened toward Japan's desires in North China. It is necessary to get the Nanking Government's good will by doing this. Unless this is done, there is no hope for adjustment of diplomatic relations between Japan and China, and it may even get worse. It is a fact, in any event, that Russia is still the 'menace' of the Far East. I think there is no other way but to give reassurance (to the Kwantung Army) by saying we will carry on very determinedly, and tell the Kwantung Army to be cautious. As I have said many times before, there is a need to make the Japanese officials

in Manchukuo understand."

In the morning of the 13th, I visited the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at his home. He said: "It seems that the Grand Chamberlain has an intention of resigning at this time. However, he won't resign in connection with this incident (February 26, Incident). I think it is advisable for him to resign in order go give a younger man a chance. However, if the successor compares unfavorably with Grand Chamberlain SUZUKI, that will be a little troublesome." I told him: "I think that, generally speaking, Prince SAIONJI has the same idea."

Further, regarding the Russian problem, he stated: "The officials of the Kwantung Army seem to be doing things rather haphazardly, and I can't understand them at all. However, according to some sources, there are points which lead me to believe that their actions may be connected with the February 26th Incident. There are some young officers who have invaded the Russia border and who have been killed. I hear that there may be a feeling, on the part of those who have some connection with the February 26th Incident, that rather than be sent back to the homeland and punished.... General MINAMI has said: 'We ourselves will never start anything. However, if we are attacked, we will shoot."

"There is discussion of a Japan-German alliance. However, I think that a Japan-German alliance at present is clearly impossible."

I also heard him say: "Further, there are some people who say: 'Since a very serious incident like this has just taken place, shouldn't an Imperial rescript be promulgated?' I have been thinking about that, too, and I

wonder what Prince SAIONJI's ideas are." We parted after I had said: "I shall ask him the next time I go to Okitsu."

On the 13th I met with the Minister of Justice. He stated: "We have decided to try by court-martial all persons directly connected with the Incident (Feb. 26th), even if they are not military personnel, at this coming court-martial. It is very evident that KUHARA contributed money. He gave 5,000 yen and it is clear that KAMEKAWA gave 1,500 yen of this to the rebels." Well, we talked about many things and parted.

On the 15th I visited the Prime Minister, and he said: "The War Minister says that the perpetrators of the February 26th Incident will be prosecuted before the Emperor's Birthday, and the verdicts may even be given out by then. Further, there are many people who had behind-the-scenes connections, and I think that their cases may take until after the Diet session.

"The War Minister also says that there is a rumor that: 'On August 1st, I am going to carry out a big shift within the Army and at the same time resign,' but I don't want you to believe this. The War Minister told the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal that: 'If Governor-General UGAKI resigns now, it will surely be distressing. We will be troubled for a successor for Governor-General. It will also be very annoying if it is said that his resignation is connected with this Incident."

The Prime Minister said: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal informed Governor-General UGAKI directly of the Emperor's wish: 'Please remain in office at this time', and besought him." The Prime Minister asked several times: "It is better for the Emperor to promul-

gate an Imperial rescript or not? If he does, when would be the best time? Please ask Prince SAIONJI's opinion." The Prime Minister further stated: "It is questionable whether the Emperor should promulgate the Imperial rescript at the time he makes his report to the Imperial Sanctuary regarding this Incident. I think that he might say: 'I am to blame.' It will be very distressing if he says that. I think that he will mention the February 26, Incident in the Imperial Edict for the opening session of the Diet. He will probably say: 'Do your work well.'" He (Prime Minister) also talked about administrative officials.

That afternoon I again met with the Foreign Minister. He said: "As I told you before, I related to the Emperor all that I had seen and whom I had met at Nanking and Tientsin; also, developments in Russian-Manchurian problem. The Emperor stated: 'The viewpoint of the Foreign Ministry must be thoroughly understood and adopted by the military.' The Emperor further stated: 'The Army constantly says that we should cooperate with Great Britain and the United States. However, when it comes to actual practice, it doesn't seem to carry out this policy.'"

I left for Okitsu on the night of the 16th. I saw Prince SAIONJI in the morning of the 17th. Previously, on the 12th, the Imperial Household Minister MATSUDAIRA was planning to visit Prince SAIONJI on his return from his worship at Ise and Momoyama. He (Prince SAIONJI) begged off as he was not feeling well. Prince SAIONJI said: "Please express fully my apologies to MATSUDAIRA." I reported to him about meeting with the Prime Minister

and the Foreign Minister in Tokyo, and also the situation in general. I then returned to the hotel.

In the morning of the 18th, I phoned the Foreign Minister. He said: "At the Cabinet Conference yesterday the War Minister brought up this matter: 'Up to now both active service and 1st and 2nd reserve officers could become ministers. I would like to change the regulation to include only active service men.' The Prime Minister had invited Prince KAN-IN for lunch, and didn't have time just then. Therefore, we parted saying: 'Well, we will consider it next time.' However, I wonder how that would be."

Then I phoned UCHIDA, former Railways Minister. It seems that the internal affairs of the Seiyukai are quite troublesome. There is the fact, especially, that KUHARA, a Seiyukai leader, was connected with this February 26th Incident. The younger members of the Seiyukai were saying: 'The leaders must bear the responsibility for such a matter with the purpose of reviving the Seiyukai. Present leaders, including the President, must resign. There must be a purge of the Army; at the same time, there must also be a purge of political parties.' Thus, they are quite noisy."

At 9:30 I went to Prince SAIONJI's home. Prince SAIONJI gave me his message to the Imperial Household Minister. Regarding the promulgation of the Imperial rescript, Prince SAIONJI stated: "If the content is good, wouldn't it be better for him to promulgate it? Such an idea came to me not long ago. However, if he says anything that is irrelevant, it would be questionable. Since it is the Emperor's statement, there is need

for much consideration. For example, the British Parliament was grateful up to now merely to receive the King's words. They have no effect unless they have a bearing on the actual trends of the time."

Further, I told him that the War Minister had made the following request at the Cabinet Conference: "I want to limit War Ministers to active servicemen only and not to include 1st and 2nd reserve men."

Prince SAIONJI stated the following, recalling from memory what Prince YAMAGATA had done when 1st and 2nd reserve men became eligible: "I remember very well what happened at that time. YAMAGATA wanted to kill two birds with one stone. Just at that time, the political parties were very influential. There was a trend toward allowing even civil officials to become War and Navy Ministers. On the one hand, the military said: 'It would be annoying if civil officials came in. In order to check this, 1st and 2nd reserve men should be made eligible.' To the political parties, they explained: 'We cannot allow men in political parties to become War and Navy Ministers so soon. First, with the idea of gradually enlarging the scope of eligibility, we are going to include 1st and 2nd reserve men.' I think, that, in reality, it was done for the purpose of preventing political party men from becoming Ministers."

In the morning of the 18th, I talked with ARITA, Foreign Minister. He said: "Even if it is late, if you are returning to Tokyo tonight, please come as soon as you return." In the evening of the 18th, I passed Hachiro (SAIONJI) at Shizuoka. I reached Tokyo about 8:00 o'clock, and went to the official residence of the

Foreign Minister about 8:30. We talked about various matters, and the Minister said: "The War Ministry and the Foreign Ministry are in step on the North China problem. The General Staff Headquarters and the Kwantung Army also are in step. To fall in step with them is going to take quite some time. Likewise, the Russian problem will not proceed so rapidly.

"I am afraid that nothing concrete can be accomplished before the extraordinary session of the Diet. However, the people are expecting something to be done about both problems. Therefore we cannot just leave it alone. Procedure would, of course, be different from that of the Five Ministers' Conference of the previous SAITO Cabinet, but the Ministers involved should propose some plan and discuss it. The War, Navy, and Foreign Ministers should assemble, and when necessary, the Prime Minister, also. They should meet at least three or four times before the Diet opens. Moreover, the administrative officials of the War, Navy and Foreign Ministries should have preliminary meetings. Side by side with these, the three Ministers should make preliminary arrangements. I think that they should give the people an expectation that something will be done sooner or later and thus ease their minds. I told the Prime Minister about this this morning and the Prime Minister was in accord with it.

"At the time of the SAITO Cabinet, each person wanted to make his own bloc. Also, there were arguments between the Finance Minister and the War Minister, and it was quite noisy. Since these estimates have already been included in the budget and have been predetermined, we won't include the Finance Minister. The Foreign, War,

and Navy Ministers will assemble and discuss the matter." ARITA, the Foreign Minister, also mentioned incidentally: "I think that a younger person would be better for Grand Chamberlain."

In the morning of the 20th, I visited the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister said: "Prince SAIONJI thinks that the matter (February 26th Incident) should be taken care of soon and offenders should be severely punished. To this, TERAUCHI, War Minister has said: 'I think the same way.' Regarding Governor-General UGAKI, I think that he will remain until the fall or the end of this year."

I related Prince SAIONJI's opinion to the Prime Minister regarding the promulgation of an Imperial rescript. I also told the Prime Minister the particulars above-stated of Prince SAIONJI's opinion regarding the War Minister's proposal that appointments as War or Navy Minister should be limited to active service officers. I told the Prime Minister that he had said: "If you have to accede to what the War Minister says, wouldn't it be better to try to acquiesce without reserve?"

Then I went to the Home Minister's place and heard about the transfer of governors. At the same time, I privately asked him whether the general public were expecting the promulgation of an Imperial rescript. The Home Minister seemed to have given the matter much thought, and expressed many opinions.

I met with the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board. He stated: "There is nothing going on at present. It is rather quiet. Perhaps when the Combined Fleet comes to Yokohama about the end of May, some rumors may

fly. There may also be some agitation when the punishment for the rebels is decided. Regarding the story that the rightists are going to organize and do something in June, we have not yet gotten wind of it."

I again visited ARITA, Foreign Minister: "When Ambassador YOSHIDA finally goes, he has decided to take along SHIRATORI, Minister to Sweden, as Councillor. The Imperial Household Minister repeatedly said: 'SHIRATORI's going to London is not good.' However, Ambassador YOSHIDA said: 'I shall take the responsibility and manage it tactfully....' Therefore I (Foreign Minister) didn't say anything more." I asked ARITA, Foreign Minister: "How about asking the Prime Minister if he knows anything about the corruption scandal in the technical section of the Army about which I had heard from newspapermen close to the Army?"

The Foreign Minister also said: "After talking with HIROTA, Prime Minister, it has been decided to send SHIGEMITSU as Ambassador to Russia after all. We have decided to send him first as an Ambassador to a first-class power. I said that I would explain the situation well to him and get his consent. I told HIROTA, Prime Minister; 'Please leave it up to me.'"

He further stated to me: "The truth of the matter is, that when HIROTA, Prime Minister, was Foreign Minister, he was thinking of sending TOGO, Bureau Chief, first to Russia as Ambassador. Then if SHIGEMITSU were to be sent out, he was to go to China as Ambassador. However, there was an objection from the Army, and therefore, SHIGEMITSU cannot be sent as Ambassador to China. Not only that, SHIGEMITSU doesn't care too much about going abroad from

the standpoint of his health. Therefore Minister HIROTA thought first that he would secure an Imperial nomination for him (to the House of Peers). However, there are too many persons for Imperial nomination. Especially since Ambassador DEBUCHI of the Foreign Ministry has to be Imperially nominated and they can't all be nominated at one time, he (HIROTA) finally abandoned the idea of an Imperial nomination for SHIGEMITSU.

"In any event, SHIGEMITSU has been Vice-Minister in the Foreign Ministry for three years. They say: 'Minister ARITA doesn't even secure an Imperial nomination (for SHIGEMITSU) nor does he send him to China. That is too harsh.' KURUSU, Chief of the Commercial Affairs Bureau, has gone to Belgium as Ambassador. If young TOGO, Chief of the Europe andAsia Bureau, should get ahead of HORITA and TAKETOMI, senior ministers, and go as Ambassador, it will create a generally unfavorable atmosphere in the Foreign Ministry. I intend to relate these views to HIROTA, Prime Minister, as my opinion. HIROTA, Prime Minister, has already intimated his plan to TOGO, Bureau Chief. I am going to take the matter upon myself and tell the Prime Minister: 'I am going to say plainly to TOGO, Bureau Chief, that HIROTA, Prime Minister had such an idea, but that I cannot agree to it for this reason. You will go as Ambassador to a first-class power, and SHIGEMITSU, in any event, will be sent to Russia as Ambassador. I want you (Prime Minister) to have that in mind.' I intend to secure the Prime Minister's understanding and carry matters out in that manner."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 202
(3 May 1936)

Terauchi Optimistic

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

Lieut. General UEMURA was suddenly placed on the reserve list. Newspaper reporters were phoning Okitsu furiously saying: "An incident as big as the Siemens Incident (naval graft involving large sums of money) of the Navy of quite some time ago has occurred in the Army." They talked as if it were a deep and bottomless incident. In reality, Lieut. General UEMURA himself knew nothing about it. It was connected with the Okura Commercial Corporation, and the wife of Lieut. General UEMURA had received the bribe. There will probably be quite a few victims involved in Tientsin and Manchukuo. I had someone ask the War Minister and he said: "This incident happened when ARAKI was War Minister. Its scale was much smaller than we expected. There is nothing more to worry about."

I was at Okitsu from the 21st to the 24th. Nothing new happened. Only when FUJINUMA, Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, phoned, he said: "General MAZAKI has been arrested by the Kempei-Tai and is being investigated." Regarding General MAZAKI, the speculation was: "The Kempei-Tai has searched his home, and has determined to investigate quite thoroughly. Won't there be quite a bit of reverberation?"

I returned to Tokyo on the 25th. I met with the Foreign Minister. He said: "The plan to limit eligibility to be War Ministers to active servicemen was submitted at yesterday's Cabinet Conference, and it has been decided to accept it." He also said: "The Navy Minister

CONFIDENTIAL

stated after the Cabinet Conference that in reality the Navy was not too enthusiastic about it. However, it was unavoidable in order to get along with the Army."

He (Foreign Minister) further stated: "After the Cabinet Conference, TERAUCHI, the War Minister, the Navy Minister, and I held a so-called Three Ministers' Conference for the first time. It went very well, and both the Army and the Navy indicated a strong determination to cooperate with theForeign Ministry. TERAUCHI, War Minister, repeatedly said: 'It is a truly distressing fact that the subordinates have rebelled against their superiors, and that the superiors have to accept plans made by subordinates. I am thinking of correcting this thoroughly.' He (TERAUCHI) further stated: 'It is distressing for the Kwantung Army to remain as it is. I want to change it so that the (supreme command in the) Central Government can control it sufficiently.' The War Minister also incessantly said: 'In short, I would like the Army to cut out all political scheming in North China. It is unsatisfactory if the Foreign Ministry doesn't handle all foreign policy matters.' However, it seems to me that the War Minister has not yet grasped the real situation." ARITA, Foreign Minister, was quite worried about it.

The Foreign Minister said: "The reason for this is that at present the Foreign Minister cannot touch the matter at all. In short, whether small or large, the Army is handling all negotiations with foreign nations in North China. In spite of this, it seems that the War Minister doesn't know the detailed facts about North China. Therefore, I cannot help but have some misgivings."

ARITA, Foreign Minister, also stated: "When I went to the Palace, the Grand Chamberlain said: 'The Emperor has asked me to say to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister: 'The War Minister came and said: 'The Army will see that the North China Occupation Army does not do anything except to protect the emigrants and military operations.' Please relay this assurance to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister.' By this, I can easily see the extent of the War Minister's determination. However, there is a need for a little more cognizance of the true situation." He then added: "The area of suspended hostilities has been entrusted to the North China Occupation Army by the Kwantung Army."

On the 28th, I visited the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister said: "Before Governor-General UGAKI returned to Korea, he said: 'I think that the Government is worried that if I resign and there is a new Governor-General some change might take place in regard to Korea's future. Regarding this, I can say responsibly: 'It is sure to be all right even if I were to resign.' If it is to go according to the situation in Japan Proper, I would like to resign when the political situation clears up. I want you to expect it about the beginning of June.' In reply, I (Prime Minister) said: 'I think you are right. If there is a fitting time, there would, of course be no objection to your resignation. But first, I would like you to remain as long as possible.' The Governor-General said: 'It would be annoying if the matter were drawn out by dilly-dallying; I want you to expect it about the beginning of June.' He also said: 'Please relay this matter to the Emperor.'

Terauchi Optimistic

"Therefore, I (Prime Minister) consulted the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal asked me: 'Just what is the Government's idea?' I said: 'As head of the Government, I would like to have him remain as long as possible....' After that, I reported to the Emperor what the Governor-General had said regarding the timing of the resignation of UGAKI, Governor-General. The Emperor said: 'Who is going to be the successor? General SUZUKI is a very necessary person in the Imperial Reservists Association. Therefore, it would be troublesome if it were SUZUKI; well, give much thought to the matter of a successor.'"

On the 30th, I visited ARITA, Foreign Minister. The Foreign Minister was quite worried about the Russian problem, and said: "It is a fact that Russia is making extensive preparations in the East at present. However, when you speak of the cause, or to put it in other words, of who made them do that, perhaps you can say that it was because the War Minister incited them. No matter what the reason, it is an evident fact that they are making extensive preparations right now. The Army and Navy are unanimous on the point that there is a need to make them stop this. I think that we must endeavor to maintain the present peace by disposing of the boundary difficulties. If we leave the military preparations as they are, they will naturally lead to a collision. We must go to the extent of abolishing military preparations. The Privy Council asked sometime ago: 'Does the Government have any basic plans regarding the Russian problem?' In the long run even if we think of withdrawing troops, if the other side doesn't follow, it's no good. There is

the method of a non-aggression pact, but with the present state of affairs in the Army, that seems rather difficult to obtain. We must leave matters in such a way that no boundary incident can occur. Then on the one hand, we must await changes in the international situation in Europe. On the other hand, we must watch for changes in the situation in the East: whether internal conditions in China will change or whether a coalition in the East, that is to say, of Japan and China, is possible. Unless this is done, I do not think that the problem can be solved."

On the 29th, the Emperor's birthday, the Foreign Minister gave a dinner. For the first time in a long while, I was able to talk with the different Cabinet Ministers. I especially wanted to talk with TERAUCHI, War Minister, on many matters. I talked with him for quite some time. He said: "General MAZAKI, who is at present undergoing investigation by the Kempei-Tai, has a very serious case of nervous breakdown. What he says is almost incoherent and hard to understand. All sorts of rumors will probably fly about the state of things in the Army. However, do not take any of it in. If anything happens, I shall tell you, or else please ask me directly about matters."

I explained fully to the War Minister concerning the character of the Foreign Minister, as I had previously been asked to do by the Foreign Minister. I told him also about his relationship to me. The War Minister had a very good insight regarding the character of ARITA, Foreign Minister. There didn't seem to be any problem to worry about between the two. I also met the Prime Minis-

ter there. He told me: "UGAKI, Governor-General, had an audience with the Emperor before he left. It seems that he (UGAKI) also told the Emperor that 'he wants to resign about June.'"

Regarding the reorganization problem of the House of Peers, there were various rumors that IWAKURA's attitude was strange. I invited HOSOKAWA, SASAKI, and MATSUDAIRA to dinner, and at the same time I asked IWAKURA to come. We talked about the problem of the House of Peers. In short, HOSOKAWA and IWAKURA concurred completely on the reorganization. Their method is somewhat different from that of KURODA. There are two schools of thought - one would work through the entire House of Peers and carry out the reorganization without submitting a proposal; the other claims that it is a problem which should be attacked even if it splits the House and that they must in any event, go forward. In the latter, giving it a bad name, are many who are aiming for popular acclaim.

I met the Director of the Bureau of Legislation at the Palace on the Emperor's Birthday. I said: "I think that the problem of the House of Peers is quite troublesome." The Director replied: "It is a very irksome problem to the Government. If we are going to solve it, our action will be fruitless unless we do some things which the House of Peers will not welcome. If we only act moderately, to the satisfaction of the House of Peers, the people will think that the Government is very slipshod...."

Just then Marquis NAKAMIKADO came along and kept talking to the Director of the Bureau of Legislation. I told the Director: "If you believe what a person like

Marquis NAKAMIKADO says, serious errors will occur. His opinion is not representative of the Kayo-kai (Tuesday Association), or anything else. Also, since Marquis NAKAMIKADO was there, I warned him (NAKAMIKADO): "If you exert too much effort in the wrong direction, you will upset an important reform." NAKAMIKADO said: "It was because I spoke a little too much that the Kenkyu-kai followed us." However, I had heard that the truth was entirely the opposite, and that NAKAMIKADO's words had made trouble for everyone. Therefore I especially cautioned him in front of the Director. Finally, the Director of the Bureau of Legislation said: "I would like to meet with you at leisure." We parted after I suggested: "Let us meet soon."

On the 30th, I went to Okitsu. I made a general report to Prince SAIONJI. Prince SAIONJI said: "The Government is, at present, hard-pressed by a grave problem and is facing rather difficult times. Isn't it unfair to expect the Government handle such a matter as the problem of the House of Peers at this time? It should be fairly free to clear up the big problems first. The problem of the House of Peers can be taken care of at any time."

I returned after that to Tokyo. On the 2nd, the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet came to my place. Privately I told him: "Prince SAIONJI spoke thus." The Chief Secretary of the Cabinet laughed and said: "If they have such a problem to tackle on the side, it is advantageous, in a sense, in checking large problems." However, thinking it over, there is quite a tendency for the theory and practice of the problem of the House

CONFIDENTIAL

of Peers to be the opposites of each other. I thought that it was a very troublesome problem to the Government.

In the morning of the 30th, I met with the Prime Minister. In the Imperial Edict for the opening session of the extra session of the Diet, there were phrases which touched on the February 26 Incident. There was an explanation of its content. In short, he explained: "When the court-martial is over and martial law has been removed, there will be the promulgation of an Imperial rescript when the Emperor makes a report of this incident at the Imperial Sanctuary. Therefore, his statement in the Imperial Edict for the opening session of the Diet is very simple: 'I regret the incident which occurred at this time in Tokyo. In short, the people and public officials must cooperate unitedly, and further endeavor for the expansion of the National Army.' It is very simple. The words, I regret, were taken from the precedent set by wartime instances like the Russo-Japanese War."

He (Prime Minister) further stated: "When the Emperor makes his report at the Imperial Sanctuary, he wants to say: 'I am to blame.' The Government has a feeling more or less that they would rather he didn't say that. However, it seems as if the Emperor feels he cannot clear his conscience unless he does say it." The Prime Minister was somewhat worried about this point.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 203
(10 May 1936)

Peers Reform Bill

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the 4th, the opening ceremony (of the Diet) was held. Not only the Diet members but the general public were overawed by the Emperor's statement on the recent Tokyo (February 26) Incident, contained in the Imperial Rescript promulgated at the opening ceremony. I heard from the other Ministers that: "The War Minister said that it had a very good influence on the Army."

On the 5th, there was an explanation by Prime Minister HIROTA, Foreign Minister ARITA, and War Minister TERAUCHI on the February 26 Incident. All three Ministers gave the best impression of recent times.

I lunched with MATSUDAIRA, Imperial Household Minister, at noon on the 6th at the Tokyo Club. I chatted with him casually for about two hours. He said: "I believe that the Emperor does not wish to replace the Grand Chamberlain. High Court officials are of the opinion: 'He (Grand Chamberlain) should not resign over such a trifling incident as having been shot at. Otherwise, anyone scheming forcefully to make a high court official close to His Majesty resign could effectuate his purpose through influencing persons to assassinate him by disseminating wild rumors about him. It would be undesirable to replace high court officials close to His Majesty for becoming the object of assassins with grievances against him.' Therefore, MATSUDAIRA, Imperial Household Minister, seems to feel: 'There would be no objections should he be resigning for reasons of a different nature.' It is not wise to replace the Grand

CONFIDENTIAL

Chamberlain at the present moment."

The Imperial Household Minister also said: "The methods of the Imperial Household Ministry up to now have been too formal. They do not fit the present times. When the Emperor's daily life is described on his birthday, the people are not impressed when we try to awe them by insignificant details of his daily activities or if we merely string along flowery words about Him in a formal manner. If concrete facts about the Emperor were stated, the people would voluntarily become deeply impressed."

He is quite worried about the future of the Peers' School. He feels that it must be reformed. We parted after discussing whether: "Admiral NOMURA would probably be the suitable person for Principal (of the Peers' School)."

On the 6th I met the Prime Minister, War Minister, and also the Foreign Minister. On the 7th I went to Okitsu and I saw Prince SAIONJI in the morning of the 8th. I made a general report on various matters. Prince SAIONJI stated: "The speeches of the three Ministers in theDiet seem to have given a very good impression. I think that HIROTA is doing pretty well."

He further stated: "I cannot well understand what Finance Minister BABA said. In any event, every Minister must cooperate to maintain his popularity. Generally speaking, BABA has comparatively many enemies and consequently must be extra careful. However, he (BABA) is a rather experienced, worldly-wise man, so...."

He also said: "Isn't the Imperial Household Minister worrying too much? The Imperial Household Minister

is uninformed about national affairs. I think that it would be distressing if he were to worry about unimportant matters; so when the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal visited me some time ago, I asked him about the Imperial Household Minister. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal replied: 'He isn't overworried.'"

Prince SAIONJI's opinion was: "It is better not to replace the Grand Chamberlain for some time." Regarding the Prime Minister's question: "If UGAKI, Governor-General, resigns in June, should he or shouldn't he be appointed Privy Councillor?" He answered: "Why not leave it to his (UGAKI's) choice?"

Nothing much happened at the House of Peers' session on the 9th. The conspicuous event of the day: Many questions were fired at HIRAO, Education Minister, on his proposal for abolishing the Chinese characters from the Japanese language (which would contribute to the simplification and rationalization of the language). He (HIRAO) was questioned as to what he expected to do about Imperial Rescripts, which contain numerous Chinese characters. (This question cast insinuating reflections on his loyalty to the Emperor). The Education Minister, inexperienced in parliamentary debate and cornered by this question, had answered: "The disposition of Chinese characters in the Imperial Rescripts is at present under consideration." (This was a serious faux pas; for according to the ultra-nationalists, Imperial Rescripts are too sacred ever to be tampered with by anyone). The Education Minister seems to have decided to take back his (disastrous) answer to the above question at the session scheduled for the 11th. I don't think that there are

troublesome matters besides this. However, generally speaking, there are so many pending bills that there is apprehension that the session may be prolonged.

The members of the Kenkyu-kai have finally agreed on a bill for reorganizing the House of Peers. It's awkwardly worded; but this is unavoidable. In any event, I'm glad that the bill can be submitted with the consent of all concerned. But it is still undecided as to when the bill should be submitted to the House of Peers.

CONFIDENTIAL

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 204
(31 May 1936)

Military Appropriations

Translated by Miss Miwako Yamamoto

The House of Peers continued to have disturbances. On the 11th, for the first time in a long while, I invited to tea about forty or fifty people, members of the diplomatic group who were good friends of Ambassador KURUSU, to fete Ambassador KURUSU.

In the morning of the 13th I met the Foreign Minister at his official residence. He said: "If you have not yet heard this story from the Prime Minister, please do not say you heard it from me. The fact is that the Chief of the General Staff and the Chief of the Naval General Staff are at the Supreme Military Headquarters together, making a report to the Emperor on the policy of national defense. Generally speaking, the Army's policy is 50 divisions in wartime and 20 divisions in peacetime. The six divisions in Manchukuo will be included among these. There also seems to be other plans for organization in such instances as this one. The Navy wants 12 capital ships, 14 aircraft carriers, and 28 cruisers. I think that in due time it will be unofficially announced to the Cabinet, and the inquiries of the Emperor will be answered. However, there are some points which I do not understand about the contents and nature of these proposals, which have been submitted to the Emperor for his perusal and which are to be returned."

The Foreign Minister was worried, and I told him as much as I knew about it. In order to get something more definite, I phoned KIDO, Chief Secretary to the

CONFIDENTIAL

Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and asked him to come. KIDO, the Foreign Minister, and I discussed the matter, but this probably won't come up directly and become a big problem right now. In any event, we must look into the matter a little more.

The War Minister first showed HIROTA, Prime Minister, the proposals at the General Staff Headquarters and Naval General Staff Headquarters. The Emperor might ask: "Is the Prime Minister aware of this plan?" It would be distressing if they replied: "Yes, he is aware of it", when the Prime Minister has had only a brief glance at it. In order to say really that he is aware of it, the whole Cabinet should scrutinize the plan. If they say: "This is all right," then for the first time, the situation fulfills the meaning of awareness. It would be very distressing if they carried the matter out by just giving us a glance and said: "They are aware of it."

KIDO immediately returned to the Imperial Household Ministry. He probably determined whether the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at the Palace knew about this matter.

On the 14th I met the Prime Minister. He said: "Yesterday I had a call from the Emperor and I went to the Palace. The policy on national defense was submitted for my perusal and the Emperor made inquiries. I intend to reply after I have discussed the matter fully with the Ministers involved."

This was the matter which the Foreign Minister had talked about yesterday. The Prime Minister said: "The Emperor is already completely aware of the procedure and

preparations for the matter. Therefore, it should proceed smoothly. As for the rest, the Ministers involved need only to hold a consultation and to answer the Emperor on certain points. The organization of the Imperial command limiting elegibility to be War ministers to active servicemen has been accepted in the Privy Council. Imperial sanction has not yet been received, but it has been decided."

There is quite a bit of anxiety among th Privy Councillors: "Regarding abolition of extraterritorial rights in Manchukuo, what are we going to do when the other foreign nations arrive at the same idea?" Also KANEKO, Privy Councillor, has been making unreasonable inquiries. The Prime Minister and members of the Foreign Ministry are quite perplexed. However, I think that it will be settled somehow.

On the 15th I met the Foreign Minister again. He said: "Yesterday, when I made a report to the Emperor about the Ethiopian problem, the Emperor made inquiries about smuggling into North China. Regarding the Ethiopian problem I told the Emperor what SUGIMURA, Ambassador to Italy, has asked: 'Why don't we who are not in the League of Nations recognize our interests - Italy in Ethiopia, Germany in Rhineland, Japan in Manchukuo - and on this basis, why not recognize Italy's conquest of Ethiopia?'

"The Emperor said: 'As long as our relations with Britain are good, that is all right but....'

"Later I (Foreign Minister) met the Grand Chamberlain. He said: 'The Emperor said to the Chief Aide-de-Camp some time ago: 'The Foreign Minister dcesn't come

very often; is this because of deference to the Army?' Until now I haven't gone to the Palace often as I am filled with trepidation about requesting Imperial audiences and going to the Palace too often about small matters. However, I think that from now on I shall ask for Imperial audiences at all times and report especially about foreign policy matters."

I said: "I think that since time of the SAITO Cabinet, Prince SAIONJI has been worried that the Cabinet Ministers have few opportunities for Imperial audiences. The Prime Minister, especially, should always ask for an Imperial audience after a Cabinet Conference, whether there is any business or not. He should answer the Emperor's various questions, if an Imperial audience were held, he could answer the Emperor's doubts about any articles ordinarily appearing in the newspapers. If not, much inconvenience may arise for the Emperor. Prince SAIONJI has cordially urged the Prime Ministers in private to that end. At the time of the OKADA Cabinet, the Prime Minister always reported to the Palace after a Cabinet Conference. It would probably be better if you went from time to time to the Palace to report, especially about foreign policies." The Foreign Minister said: "I think that I will do that."

I departed on the evening of the 15th and went to Okitsu. Before going to Prince SAIONJI's home in the morning of the 16th, I phoned HASHIMOTO, Public Safety Section Chief of the Police Bureau, as he phoned me during my absence yesterday. He said: "There is nothing in particular, but through investigating TAKUNO's activities, we have discovered that he received a great deal

CONFIDENTIAL

of money from Viscount KANEKO and Admiral YAMAMOTO, Eisuke. Further, the Combined Fleet is going to arrive at Yokosuka in a few days. There are rumors that something is going to happen when the Fleet enters Yokosuka. Please do not believe that. Everything is under control."

I also phoned the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. He said: "The matters which are troubling the present Diet are secret publications by turbulent groups and the retirement fund. They intend to push these matters through without extending the Diet session."

I went to Prince SAIONJI's place and made a general report on matters up to the present. Prince SAIONJI said: "As I see it, the members of the Diet are becoming more and more engrossed in self-seeking publicity and it is very distressing. They must keep the national interest at heart and be more sincere. I would like to improve the situation somehow. The present state of affairs is truly distressing." He was deeply worried.

He further stated: "At present the Government is faced with breaking the deadlock over a grave situation. They must help the Government, and as its strength, should endeavor, no matter how little, for the nation's welfare." He was very worried about the present state of affairs - especially the situation surrounding the House of Representatives and the House of Peers.

I returned home on the night of the 16th. The 17th was Sunday, but the budget had gone from the House of Representatives to the House of Peers. The Finance Minister was giving a speech on administrative policies at this session and I went there to be in time for that. After the Finance Minister's speech was over, there were

many questions addressed to him, but nothing serious occurred.

On the 18th, I met the Foreign Minister again. He said; "There doesn't seem to be any change in particular." On the 19th, I was talking with the Prime Minister and others about many problems in the Cabinet Ministers' room at the House of Peers. The War Minister was present. The War Minister and I remained, and I asked him about various matters. He said: "I think that we will have to court-martial even General MAZAKI. HONJO, former Chief Aide-de-Camp, is also in a precarious position. I think that, generally speaking, matters can be brought to a close by the middle of June, but...."

Regarding the resignation of UGAKI, Governor-General, it was the Army's desire that he wait a little while longer. Yesterday, when I met IMAIDA, Chief Civil Administrator, at the Diet, he had said that it (resignation) was to be offered very soon. When I related this, War Minister TERAUCHI was worried and said: "I shall see IMAIDA."

I met the Navy Minister, Finance Minister, and Communications Minister. They said: "Let us endeavor for the passage of the law controlling water routes." Therefore I consulted relevant officials, and appropriate dates for holding committee meetings were agreed upon. The matter was settled to the satisfaction of the Government.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 205
(28 May 1936)

Complacent Diet

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

Due to problems like the retirement fund bill, secret publications by rightist groups, national mobilization, and colonization of Formosa, the Diet was having difficulty in moving according to schedule.

On the 21st, I met the Foreign Minister. He said: "Some time ago, when Ambassador YOSHIDA visited Prince SAIONJI, SAIONJI said: 'It is truly regrettable that Japan has disappointed China to this extent. Before the situation becomes too aggravated, isn't there some "gesture" that the Foreign Ministry can make by itself?' We are giving this much thought at present."

"Unless we handle China together with the Army, matters may turn for the worse later and trouble us. We must be very cautious. For instance, some time ago, we raised the legation in China to an embassy. On the one hand, this was kept secret within the country from the Army until it happened. Later, it (Army) was clamorous in its remarks and there was some commotion. From the international standpoint, the fact that we out-did the British Government hurt the feelings of the British quite a bit. It is regrettable.

"In any event, the North China problem is most important at present. We are dispatching the East Asia Bureau Chief to North China. We intend to get the Kwantung Army and the North China Occupation Army to agree (with the Foreign Ministry) on various problems, with the Soviet problem as the main one. I think that

CONFIDENTIAL

the Privy Council will decide in general on the abolition of extraterritorial rights in Manchukuo."

I met the War Minister at the House of Peers. He said: "It is rumored that UGAKI, Governor-General, is going to resign about the beginning of June. However, this is distressing. In fact, the Emperor is supposed to have said: 'Please remain a little longer.' It will be inconvenient to me if he resigns around the beginning of June. I want him to wait at least until the end of August. It is very selfish on his part to say that he doesn't care and to stick to: 'I want to resign.' Well, I am hoping that his resignation will occur as late as possible. I am going to talk to the Prime Minister, and I think that I shall also talk to IMAIDA."

I met IMAIDA, and it still seemed that he (UGAKI) was going to resign about the beginning of June. I thought that it would be better if the Prime Minister and the War Minister got together as soon as possible and conceived a plan, and I told the Prime Minister about it.

When the Formosan problem came up in the Diet, there was a rumor that the Governor-General of Formosa had offered his resignation. There was absolutely no truth to this.

On the 25th, I again met the Foreign Minister. He said: "The situation is very bad in North China. Smuggling is flourishing. Especially, at present, Manchukuo is trying to enter into a treaty with the Kitsi (puppet, North China) Government. It would be very troublesome if such a thing were done, and we are holding down Manchukuo. In any event, as a goture of friendship to China,

I intend to send a goodwill envoy, since prominent persons in the Chinese financial world visited Japan some time ago. At present, I am discussing this with KODAMA, President of Shokin Yokohama Specie Bank. It may only have a temporary effect, but, in any case, something must be done. The atmosphere in China is extremely bad due to the increase of Japanese divisions in North China and smuggling. Thinking that it would be regrettable if a goodwill envoy were sent at this critical period, and something happened, I am giving careful thought to the matter of timing."

He added: "For some reason or other, Count KANEKO wants to attend the 300th Anniversary Celebration at Harvard University, and his friends seem to be carrying on some movement. When the incorporation of the news agency was completed, MOCHIZUKI, Communications Minister, tried to push KANEKO for presidency of that general partnership. He broached the matter to KANEKO, but it was questioned at that time whether the President of the Privy Council would agree to it. Just at that time, the February 26 Incident occurred, and after that the matter (presidency) was left as it is. Count KANEKO was annoyed that the Government didn't settle such matters quickly. He is striking against many matters." ARITA, Foreign Minister, laughed and said: "It's really annoying."

On the 25th, I visited the Chief Secretary of the House of Representatives (TAGUCHI), and asked him about the situation in general in the present Diet. He said: "The reason that they have clamored against secret publications by rightist groups and the secret order for

national mobilization is that complaints against the leaders of political parties mounted high because the rice bill was passed. The control of both parties (Seiyukai and Minseito) became quite difficult, and it is a fact that this, in a good sense, has made the young men active. Now they will not leave matters to the discretion of the leaders. In fact, consultations between the Government and leaders have even given rise to opposition. There is a movement among the political parties to unite the Seiyukai and the Minseito, and to push UGAKI for the presidency if he resigns as Governor-General of Korea. However, it's hard to tell what will happen. The members of the political parties are very worried as to what effect the results of this movement will have on the military.

"The most remarkable thing about this Diet is that the Musanto (Proletarian Party) is striving very earnestly. I have warned them often: 'It is wrong to be merely vociferous at the Diet, and it would be better if you showed clearly your political policies and principles.' Their reputation is quite good, both in and out of the Diet. Their arguments were especially substantial. Generally speaking, however, the arguments not only the Musanto's, but of other parties, were comparatively substantial. I think that attacks against opposing political parties have decreased. In any event, it is a fact that the advance of the Musanto has given quite an impetus to the existing political parties. In a sense, I think that it was a great stimulant."

I met the Finance Minister. He said: "Generally speaking, the important problems which have been pending

for a long time have practically all passed. This time the members of the House of Peers were very cooperative with the Government." He was happy about that.

The Diet session was unavoidably extended one day. On the night of the 25th, before I left for Okitsu, I visited the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. He said: "In this Diet, of 46 proposed laws, 45 were passed. Further, three plans were submitted by the Government for approval, and these, too, passed. Therefore, of 49 matters submitted, 48 were passed. The important bills were: a measure to control the storage of rice; a measure to control production of cocoons; Government assistance to the automobile industry; a program to develop the North-east provinces (Tohoku) and the distribution of electricity there; a central loan agency for middle-class and small manufacturers; the hunting problem; a regulation to control the water routes; the colonization of Formosa; and the retirement fund. The bill for control of secret publications by rightist groups should ultimately pass. We may have to extend the session another day, but I would like to end it tonight."

I left on the 9:30 train on the 25th. In the morning of the 26th, I went to Prince SAIONJI's place and told him the situation. Prince SAIONJI was delighted and said: "That is very good." When he heard about the retirement fund, he said: "Some decades ago, when I met GNEIST in Germany, GNEIST was intently promoting his argument for a retirement fund. At that time, there were no laborers in Japan's society. Therefore, there were no such things as labor organizations, and I didn't

pay much heed to him. Come to think of it now, GNEIST did have something in what he said." He said: "Ambassador YOSHIDA came and said: 'We will strive hard for friendship between Japan and Britain.'"

I told him what ARITA, Foreign Minister, had said. He replied; "I never said to YOSHIDA: 'Say this to ARITA, Foreign Minister.' Neither did I intend to give orders. Please explain that well to him (ARITA)." He stated: "Please give my regards to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet Ministers."

The Diet session was extended until the 26th, and the measure controlling secret publications by rightist groups was finally passed in the evening of the 26th. The closing ceremony of the Diet session was held on the 27th.

During the Diet session, there were many rumors against TERAUCHI, War Minister. The War Minister repeatedly said and bluffed: "I won't listen to any rumors. It is enough if I keep on doing what I am supposed to do. I won't pay any attention to such matters." However, there were those who went to Prince KONOYE and said: "I think that TERAUCHI, War Minister, is quite worn out and getting sick of his job." Also HAYASHI, Yasokichi, had said to KONOYE's secretary: "He (TERAUCHI) is getting tired of his job, and General HAYASHI has said: 'I think that he feels the same way I did toward the end of my term as War Minister.'" I thought it would be detrimental to TERAUCHI, War Minister, to have such statements circulated, I cautioned Ambassador KOBATA, who came from the same prefecture as General HAYASHI, and who was, in fact, a very good friend of his, about that matter. I told him: "Why not find out the true story?"

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 206
(11 June 1936)

North China Smuggling

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the 29th, I met the Prime Minister. He said: "At the Cabinet Conference I intend to discuss the national defense policy, which has been previously submitted for the Emperor's perusal, and to reply to the Emperor regarding it on behalf of the Cabinet. The content of that reply will be the same as usual. The reply will be that we would like to concur with the national defense policy as fully as finances will permit."

The Prime Minister also stated: "Yesterday I had an audience with the Emperor, and reported on the progress of the Diet. He was very well satisfied. Previously, it was thought that promulgation of an Imperial rescript to the people would be necessary when he made his report to the Imperial Sanctuary. However, the Emperor's statement touching upon the Tokyo Incident in his Imperial Edict at the opening ceremony of the Diet made a much greater impression than was expected. The people and officials, whether civil or military, were deeply moved, and it achieved tremendous results. To promulgate an Imperial rescript again when martial law is removed would seem too much like harping on the matter. It has been said that it would be better if the Emperor abandoned the idea. We reached the same decision. Please tell Prince SAIONJI about this."

The Prime Minister said: "Yesterday when I had the audience with the Emperor, the Emperor said: 'TERAUCHI is purging the Army very vigorously.' He (the Emperor) seemed very well satisfied, and I could see how deeply confi-

CONFIDENTIAL

dent he was in TERAUCHI. I (Prime Minister) intend to tell TERAUCHI about this."

After I left the Prime Minister, I visited the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at his home. Fore the first time in a long while I saw YUASA, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He said: "The Imperial Edict at the Diet had a greater influence than was anticipated. I am wondering about the advisability of promulgating an Imperial rescript immediately following this. What is especially bad is that military discipline is lax. If a new Imperial rescript were promulgated, it would have to mention this point. If it does, I think matters will be complicated. Prince SAIONJI approved of this matter once, but the situation has altered in various aspects. Will you please relay to him (SAIONJI) that I (YUASA) said that I thought it would be better if the Emperor abandoned the promulgation at this time after discussing it first with the Cabinet."

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal further stated: "There is talk of changing all the colonial governors, on the basis that it is time for the Governor-General (Korea), the Governor of the South Seas Mandated Islands, the Governor-General of Formosa, and the Governor of Karafuto to resign. Long ago Karafuto was exploited by the political parties, and the record of the Governor of Karafuto was poor. Since the present Governor took over, the record has improved quite a bit. Therefore I think that to say: 'Change everything,' and to change indiscriminately has both good and bad points."

He (YUASA) said: "There are some people in the Navy who say: 'It isn't good that the Chief of the Naval

General Staff is at present a member of the Imperial Family. We would like the Prince to withdraw as soon as possible.' Those who are saying this with an insincere motive are, in short, trying to kill two birds with one stone. That is, they would make his Imperial Highness, the present Chief of Naval General Staff, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Then they would put one of their own group into the vacancy. We must be very cautious."

That afternoon I again visited ARITA, Foreign Minister, and asked about the Cabinet Conference. He said: "The set-up of the budget was changed. As I told you before, the national defense policy which the Emperor perused was submitted by means of the usual reply to the Throne. The Communications Minister vaguely understood the whole of the Military's national defense policy and said: 'It is more reassuring than I expected.'"

He (ARITA) said: "I think that martial law will have to be kept in effect until the end of June. We are sending back two battalions of the four from Sendai, and calling two battalions from Utsunomiya to Tokyo. We are constantly interchanging in this way and training them."

I went to Okitsu on the afternoon train. After supper that evening I saw Prince SAIONJI and told him about matters up to the present and what was said by the Prime Minister and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in regard to the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript. Prince SAIONJI said: "I thought that it would be better that way, too. (Not to promulgate the Imperial rescript). Since he spoke at the opening ceremony of the Diet, I was wondering, if he were to speak again, just what concrete

statements he would make. Yes, I think that would be better. Both houses sent a message of reply to the Emperor, and in addition, they passed a resolution to obey His Majesty's will. Just what was that for? It seems like a funny thing to do."

From the night of the 29th till the night of the 4th, I was in Osaka and Kyoto. At Osaka, I invited many persons to dinner through the kindness of the President of Sumitomo.

The next morning I visited the Governor and talked with him. Governor YASUI (of Osaka Prefecture) is a very sincere person, has good understanding, and is a governor of good character. However, it was as if I were listening to the address of a professor of logic or a procurator. He seemed fitting as an executive official, and yet I felt that there was something lacking.

The Governor said: "Since coming to the prefecture, I have felt keenly that the problem of the rural communities is quite troublesome especially around Osaka. More than that, not only the political parties, but the zaibatsu, the gunbatsu, and bureaucracy, all these existing forces are almost useless. In short, all the greedy have assembled together, and a self-centered atmosphere is everywhere. We need strong politicians who really have the nation's interest at heart. In short, from forces yet unknown to the people may rise those who will really guide Japan. We must consider how we can best direct that."

I returned after talking about many matters. I met NISHIDA and others at Kyoto and said to them: "Please meet the Governor of Osaka some time." From what I saw,

the prefectural governors who are very good become teachers who expound virtue, and the bad ones become very unrefined. I feel that there are few who can mix the two characteristics in order to contend with reality.

During this interval, there were happenings, such as the killing of a Japanese by a British soldier, etc., in connection with the North China problem. I phoned the Foreign Ministry and talked with Minister ARITA. He said: "There is nothing too serious so visit at your leisure." Therefore, I returned in the morning of the 5th. I visited the Foreign Minister at his official residence immediately after my return. He said: "They talk about cooperation with Great Britain, but when it comes to a concrete problem even the military men who advocate cooperation become stubborn, and it's very distressing. Regarding this matter of a British soldier killing a Japanese, the British maintain strongly that: 'It was not our soldier.' Japan is blindly saying: 'Apologize,' and is demanding an apology. This isn't too serious a problem so I think it will be settled somehow.

"Regarding even the Leith ROSS problem, I cannot say that understanding has deepened. It will probably be quite difficult, to say the least, to improve existing feeling. The reason for this is that there are such problems as smuggling. I guess that there is no other way but to get together for dinner and have a friendly discussion."

He (ARITA) further stated: "If China is made to lower her tariff rates, smuggling will, consequently, decrease. If the amount allotted for customs revenue-secured foreign loans become sufficient, then the surplus

of customs revenue in excess of the allotment can be given to regional administration, although that is done at present. The Army says: 'Smuggling goes on because British officials are making the Chinese tariff rates high.' That may be so, but we must first investigate the matter much more fully."

He (ARITA) stated: "The policy of the budget will be determined at the Cabinet Conference, and this will be furnished to the different ministries. Foreign policies are becoming quite difficult, and the international situation becomes worse day by day. If relations with China and Britain become bad, then relations with America will also, consequently, become bad. I can't say too much to other people, and it would be embarrassing if you told the Prime Minister that I said such things as this. However, the truth is that I am lost in thought. I am hoping to think of some way to effect a break in the deadlock. This is a problem especially, of the officials in North China, but it will be distressing if they cannot handle the North China problem more effectively. Perhaps in August the Army may change personnel by transfer. Therefore something must be done. I think that the supreme command is gradually improving. Consequently, there is some hope that it will cooperate with the Foreign Ministry."

Then I met the Prime Minister. He said: "Governor-General UGAKI will remain until August or September." He also said: "Since about two days ago, the public trial of the February 26 Incident has gone into pleadings, and it will take about a week. If MAZAKI is indicted, the presiding judge will have to be a General. I am holding

a Cabinet Conference about the 3rd, and intend to decide upon the important items of the budget. I must make some estimates on them before the month is over."

He (Prime Minister) further stated: "On the 17th of this month, there is going to be a Court dinner for the Cabinet ministers of both Cabinets (OKADA and HIROTA). Prime Minister OKADA was hesitant at first, but it looks as if he will come after being urged by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal."

I departed on the 6th and arrived in Oiso on the 7th. TERAUCHI, War Minister, visited me at Oiso, and we discussed many matters. He stated: "Generally speaking, we intend to cooperate as much as possible with the Foreign Ministry in regard to foreign policies. We also intend to keep the Kwantung Army from making thoughtless statements."

He (TERAUCHI) further stated: "I relayed this to UGAKI, Governor-General, through IMAIDA; 'In any case, I would like you to remain until after August 20. To resign before that is a very disloyal act.' The Incident (February 26) will probably be settled in general soon. The demands for penalties are as follows: of 23 officers, 21 to be sentenced to death, and the two remaining to be sentenced to seven to ten years' imprisonment; the 19 non-commissioned officers and 70 soldiers to be sentenced to seven to fifteen years' imprisonment, there may be some who will be sentenced to only three or four years. Of the twenty-one for whom sentence of death is asked, six or seven in all probability will be given the death penalty. I think that KITA, Kazuteru, became ill recently. Evidence is gradually piling up against MAZAKI,

and I think that we will have to court-martial him. The reason that the ring leaders of the rebels in this incident have a grudge against the general officers is that the general officers incited them until the incident took place; now as evidence is gradually mounting, they (officers) have become indifferent. Their (officers') conduct is truly disgraceful."

TERAUCHI said: "The Kwantung Army recently has become more cautious, and is refraining from making trouble with foreign powers. Especially around the Russian-Manchurian border, they have become quite careful and are not committing rash acts. I intend to meet Leith ROSS."

In the morning of the 8th, I went to Okitsu and saw Prince SAIONJI. I reported the various developments up to the present. Prince SAIONJI said: "They say that retailers will suffer if department stores are erected, but department stores are necessary, too. Only, it would be distressing if they were run according to the Russian methods...." He (Prince SAIONJI) further stated: "At present, the activities of pseudo-religions, such as Omoto-kyo, should be more strictly regulated."

I returned on the night of the 8th. In the morning of the 9th, I met the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister said: "UGAKI's resignation has been delayed until after the middle of August, and I think that the North China matter can be settled." He seemed to be optimistic.

On the 10th, I met the Home Minister. He said: "I had been hoping to hold a conference of the prefectural police chiefs soon. However, if the Army's final court decision were made and martial law were removed, it would

be troublesome if the prefectural police chiefs were absent from their posts just about that time. In order to determine the time, we have been inquiring of the Army, but the decisions haven't been forthcoming as the Army had hoped. We have waited this long, but now we intend to hold a meeting for three days from the 27th. We intend to finish it quickly and send them home early.

"I (Home Minister) am thinking of convoking an investigation committee on social work to discuss policies for social work in rural communities, aid to servicemen, and the necessity of commissioners for control of social welfare. I do not think that the rightists, at present, constitute a serious problem."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 207
(20 June 1936)

Hata on Russia

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the 11th, I visited the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister stated: "Regarding the change in the Governor-Generalship of Formosa, UGAKI, Governor-General of Korea, is requesting that: 'The Governor-General of Formosa be replaced simultaneously' with his (UGAKI's) resignation from the Korean post. Since Governor-General UGAKI's resignation will take place about the 20th of August, we intend to delay the other until then.

"I (Prime Minister) heard this from someone else; General MAZAKI has been accused by the young officers of the rebel group. Consequently, actual proof for prosecution has been validated, and I hear that he has been indicted by the Army." Nothing particularly serious besides this was discussed, and I left the official residence of the Prime Minister.

I met the Foreign Minister again. The Minister said: "I think that Leith ROSS is placing much emphasis upon the smuggling into North China. I (ARITA) told him: 'In any event, we are giving it much consideration, so don't get excited.' Incidentally I threw in the matter of tariff rates in North China. He seems to be quite worried about that. I (ARITA) told him: 'Please talk to the Vice-Minister about the details.' Today I (ARITA) sent the Vice-Minister to say what I had left unsaid and to hear what I had not heard. When I saw him (Leith ROSS), I exaggerated the problem of the tariff-rate system, and he seemed very worried about it. Apparently he has given up as impractical the idea of cooperative aid by Japan and

CONFIDENTIAL

Britain for China. He repeatedly says: 'Japan's methods are truly inscrutable.' I also heard from many sources that he has said: 'In the first place, the more I see of the situation in Japan the less I understand about what she plans to do with China.'

"Baron HIRANUMA said that he wanted to talk with the Prime Minister and me (ARITA). Therefore, I (ARITA) visited HIRANUMA, Vice-President of the Privy Council, this morning. He talked with me for about an hour about the North China problem, and he was worried. He said: 'If the Foreign Ministry and the Army were to consult directly, there might be prejudices, and they might not get along so well. I have friends in the Army so I will get in between and discuss the matter somehow.' He (HIRANUMA) also said: 'Determine the policy of the Government, and those who do not follow this can either resign or do something else.' However, in reality, it isn't as easy as Baron HIRANUMA says."

On the 12th I met the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. He said: "It was decided at the Cabinet Conference to appoint an investigating committee to amend the election laws and the organization of the House of Representatives."

Later, I met the Foreign Minister. He stated: "Leith ROSS talked with me at leisure, but his impression of the Japanese Army is very bad. He said to me: 'It looks to me as if the Japanese Army will not be satisfied unless it strikes China. I thought that it was practically saying after it has beaten China that it would be all right for Japan and Britain to collaborate.

The Foreign Minister further stated: "The other day

the Ambassador of the Republic of China came to see me. He complained: 'It seems that the divisions of the North China Occupation Army are going to be increased. Please see that such a thing does not happen.' I (ARITA) gave a suitable reply. At that time, I said: 'If the situation in North China becomes stabilized, the forces will decrease.'

"Later on, Colonel KAGESA came to the East Asia Bureau and said angrily: 'The Foreign Minister is extremely impertinent. We translated the message sent to the Nanking Government by the Chinese Ambassador after his conference with the Foreign Minister. It was an infringement of the Imperial prerogative of supreme military command. ARITA, Foreign Minister, said to the Chinese Ambassador: 'If the situation in North China becomes stabilized, the forces will be decreased.' He also spoke on the purge of the Army, and such actions are outrageous.'

"I (ARITA) heard this and said: 'I simply made a reasonable statement to the Ambassador of the Chinese Republic. It's only reasonable to say that the soldiers will be withdrawn if the situation becomes stabilized, and I do not think that that was in any way an infringement of the Imperial prerogative of supreme military command. I did not mention anything about the pruge of the Army, etc. Probably there was some error in translation of the telegram.' I (ARITA) had the East Asia Bureau relay that in full to KAGESA. The next day KAGESA, very flustered, came to my place to apologize. He apologized saying: 'It was an error in translation just as you (the Foreign Minister) had said. The matter of the purge of the Army was secretly relayed to the Chinese Government

by Ambassador HSU as his own opinion. We know well now that the Foreign Minister didn't say anything about it.'"

He (ARITA) stated: "As I have told you before, I cannot understand the internal situation of the Army very well. When General MATSUI went to Shanghai, he said: 'The assistant at Shanghai, AMAMIYA, is a protege of mine so please tell him everything.' However, before General MATSUI went, those whom MATSUI thought were his followers were not too happy about the General's coming. Not only that, there was a clamor as to whether or not they were going to give the General a welcome party. Behind his back, they spoke very ill of the General, although on the surface they pretended to be loyal. It is a great mistake on the part of General MATSUI to think that the ties of friendship are as strong as when they were his subordinates. I warned General MATSUI about it once. The situation has changed that much between the past and the present."

I visited the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board. I asked him about the results of the election for members of the prefectural assembly (Tokyo). He stated: "The Minseito has 49 members; Seiyukai, 37; Dokudo, 3; Musanto, 4; Shamin (Shakai Taishuto), 18; Independent, 1. The ratio between the Minseito and Seiyukai is reversed as compared to former times. The thing we should pay special attention to is the fact that the Shakai Minshuto and the Musanto have suddenly increased from one member to 22 members."

He (Chief of Metropolitan Police Board) further stated: "It is to be expected that the Seiyukai and the Minseito will get together in the future. As a result

of the clean-up of the election, the ratio of non-voters has decreased a great deal, and I feel that the clean-up served somewhat as an advertisement when fifty members out of sixty of the House of Representatives were re-elected.

"Further, while the rightist problem is becoming acute, there is a phenomenon of the leftists coming up. This must be considered very important in the light of future developments. The leftists are struggling hard to emerge, but there are very many among the leftists who are camouflaged as rightists. At present, the rightists are quiet, but it's hard to tell about the future.

"The Navy was quite worried whether there might not be an agitation when the Fleet entered Yokosuka. At present, it doesn't look as if there will be any serious movement. This is really secret, but I am very worried about the Shimpei-Tai matter. At present, fifty persons are out on bail. Even if they are trailed they get away. The Supreme Court calls them in for investigation, but they do not comply readily. I am worried about how it can be settled and what should be done. However, I ask that you don't say too much about the fact that I am worried about the Shimpei-Tai."

Before I left for Okitsu, I saw the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and talked with him. He said: "The first thing is to decide what to do with North China. The War Ministry has agreed in general to what I am going to express now - that is to say, the idea of the Foreign Ministry. The Foreign Ministry thinks it inadvisable to have a nondescript government like the present Kitsi (puppet) Government. Previously the

Nanking Government said something about the area and also said: 'Please put HO Ying-chin at the head.' The Army spurned this but the Foreign Minister wants to widen the area as the Nanking Government has stated previously. The five provinces of Shantung, Shansi, Suiyuan, Hopei, and Chahar would be the area. However, the leader will be one who is under the influence of the Nanking Government. In this way, the matter can be settled with the Nanking Government. If it is settled, then the problem of smuggling will naturally be removed. The Army said: 'HO Ying-chin is unacceptable,' and appointed SUNG Che-yuan, but this has ended in failure. The War Ministry has generally agreed to abandon the idea of anything like the Kitsi (puppet) Government in so small an area as Hopei and Chahar only. It has agreed to the five provinces of which the Foreign Ministry now speaks and which the Nanking Government first suggested, and to make SUNG Che-yuan resign. But it (War Ministry) has said: 'In order to make the General Staff Headquarters and the Kwantung Army consent, the War Ministry will take the lead, instead of the Foreign Ministry handling the matter directly, so please wait.' There is good accord between the War Ministry and the Foreign Ministry."

He (Vice-Minister) stated: "As the first step, the North China Occupation Army will be strengthened - the number of men will be increased. The Kwantung Army has outlying stations in North China, Shanghai, Nanking, etc., but the Kwantung Army will discontinue all of these and withdraw completely from North China. Consequently, we have even reached the decision that the North China

CONFIDENTIAL

Occupation Army will hold the controlling power of the Kitsi (puppet) Government. The Kwantung Army was supposed to have made all those reserve officers and ronin (racketeers) who got into the Kitsi Government as advisers and such withdraw the early part of this month."

The Vice-Minister further stated: "When I met Leith ROSS, he said: 'The young people of China are really working hard. No matter how you look at it, CHIANG Kai-shek is still the one figure in China. We must inevitably help CHIANG Kai-shek, but there are two ways of helping him. One is to build a railroad and the other is to reorganize the currency system. I think that the reorganization of the currency system has already succeeded in general. The reorganization of the currency system can be carried on without foreign loans, but foreign loans are necessary for large-scale construction of railroads and the amount required for this will be approximately 200,000,000 yen. That would be pretty difficult in today's political situation. With the situation as it is today, in North China especially, I think that subscriptions to foreign loans for the construction of railroads would be uncertain. The customs income of North China has decreased a great deal due to smuggling. Therefore, it is very difficult to allot the customs income to customs revenue-secured foreign loans for the railroad construction. I want you please to do something about smuggling.' He (Leith ROSS) further stated: 'The Kitsi (puppet) Government takes one-fourth of the customs revenue, and all those goods are coming from Japan. If the Army withdrew, it would be all right but....'

"I (Vice-Minister) told Leith ROSS: 'We cannot just

put a stop to it, but the Kitsi Government could be given the remainder after the allotment for customs revenue-secured foreign loans is deducted. At the same time, nothing else can be done but to lower the tariff rates and to have the Nanking and Kitsi Governments get together and settle the matter.' Leith ROSS said: 'We want to keep in touch with the Chinese customs system, and we would like to have an Englishman as Director-General of the Chinese Customs Office.' Therefore, I (Vice-Minister) said: 'In that case, please put a Japanese in the second position, and also please include Japanese on the committee. If you do that, Japan can give her consent.' I (Vice-Minister) further warned Leith ROSS: 'I don't suppose that Britain will try to start a loan by herself without consulting Japan.' According to Leith ROSS: 'Britain will consult Japan without fail before the loan is made. It is completely impossible for Britain to do it alone, and we cannot do anything without Japan's aid and good will.' I (Vice-Minister) heard later from FUKAI, Governor of the Bank of Japan, that Leith ROSS had repeatedly said complainingly: 'The Japanese Army is too imperious.'"

In the morning of the 14th, I went to Prince SAIONJI's place. I returned after I had reported on the situation since my last visit.

On the 17th, I met the Foreign Minister. He said: "I met the Minister of Overseas Affairs and talked to him about the Governor-General of Formosa. I said: 'They seem to be making unpleasant remarks about the custom of appointing military personnel to that office (and suggesting non-military). Why not take care of the matter before

such ideas become set?' The Minister of Overseas Affairs seemed undecided as yet.

"Further, when I (Foreign Minister) reported to the Emperor the other day about retaliation against Australia, the Emperor inquired about North China. He talked to me about the problem of smuggling and the problem of the Russian-Manchurian boundary. Generally speaking, I told him what I thought. If armaments increase, foreign policy will have to move delicately. For this reason, we need men and money. With this in mind, I intend to ask for them in the next budget."

I told Minister ARITA: "The fact is that I have been very worried for some time about Colonel HATA, present Press Corps Chief of the Army, who stayed in Russia for a very long time and studied Russia. He admired the present system or practice of political administration, the so-called Communism. He observed it and was deeply impressed. The other day I met HOSHINO, Minister of Finance of Manchukuo, on the train. While HOSHINO was staying in Tokyo, he met Army officials who told him that HATA assembled leading Army officials in the presence of the War Minister and lectured on Russia. He (HATA) said: 'Today the people of Russia are doing without food and clothing and making a great sacrifice in their endeavor for national defense. The Accountant's Bureau Chief of Russia holds enormous power. Consequently, he is allocating a huge amount to national defense, and he is striving for a very substantial national defense. And now, turning to the internal situation in Japan, there is no comparison. Here the people do what they want to, wear what they want to, and there is almost no feeling of

sacrificing themselves in Manchukuo for the sake of the nation.' He (HATA) was very indignant, and talked, with flowing tears, almost as if to say that Russia alone was achieving the realization of national unity. Such an atmosphere is becoming quite strong among Army officials. This is a very unpleasant story, but there are many who have Communistic ideas while acknowledging the Emperor system.

"Regarding the purge of the Army, HOSHINO said with a worried face: 'Regarding the present court-martial, Major TANAKA, who was once in the Russian Research Corps, will probably purge the Army as much as he can. However, at the same time, I think he has political aspirations.'" I (HARADA) said intentionally: "TERAUCHI will do all he can, and there probably isn't much to worry about. However, there were many newspaper reporters and others who said to me: 'We heard Colonel HATA's impression of Russia at a lecture.'" I further told the Foreign Minister: 'I do not think it advisable to let him propagandize like that. After all, Russia showed to Colonel HATA what was to her advantage. Of course, it isn't only HATA, but she impregnates foreigners with ideas of her choosing. Military men are usually simple-minded, and after returning with a delusion, they tell what they have been led to believe. When you look at the whole picture, for instance, looking at it from the standpoint of the security of the people's existence, they (Russians) under suppression, must unavoidably be resigned to an extremely low standard of living. Speaking from the actual state of political affairs, the people of Japan are much happier, and the application of the

system is much better. There are, of course, defects in the present conduct of Japanese politics, and there are probably many points which require great reforms. However, I definitely do not think that you can say that Japanese politics as a whole is bad in comparison with today's Russia.

"Therefore, I think that many persons outside of the Army should be sent to such places who can judge for themselves from an impartial standpoint with plenty of good sense. If there are persons who make such speeches (like HATA), I think it very dangerous if the Government doesn't also train persons who can make an eloquent speech which can refute such statements. I think that at present the Navy is the most suitable to hold the Army in check. I am thinking of discussing this some time with the Navy Minister. However, why don't you talk to him, too?"

The Foreign Minister said: "I am very much in accord with your idea, and the Foreign Ministry will give it a thought too. I would like to send someone from the Foreign Ministry. Perhaps I shall ask OKURA of the House of Peers to go."

I was in the office at Sumitomo looking over various letters. Among them was a letter from Vice-Admiral SAKONJI stating that he was finally departing for Russia on the problem of the demand for oil. On a sudden impulse, I phoned Vice-Admiral SAKONJI and said: "I would like to see you." He replied: "I had been wanting to see you, and I shall visit you immediately."

I told him what I had just related to ARITA, Foreign Minister, about HATA being infatuated with the Russian

system and that he was publicizing it vigorously. Vice-Admiral SAKONJI stated: "The fact is that when Colonel HATA told me about it some time ago, I thought that this was dangerous. I had the same concern as you, I am going to Russia soon and I shall look over the situation with extra caution. After I return, I shall think of something that will have a good effect. I am going to see the Navy Minister today, and I shall consult with the Navy Minister about your idea."

Vice Admiral SAKONJI further stated: "The other day I saw the Navy Minister. NAGANO, Navy Minister, repeatedly said: 'On the one hand, the Army wants to conduct an active offense to the limit against Russia. The Navy, on the other hand, wants to dupe Britain and America and to go against them. If both the Army and the Navy are vigorous for war, both here and there, the nation cannot maintain itself. The Army grumbles because it is uneasy, and claims that it must complete adequate military preparations against Russia. At present I am considering transferring quite a bit from the Navy's budget to the Army. However, the Army must influence the Navy toward friendly relations with Britain and America. On the surface, there may be tactical plans for war against the United States or Britain, but this is for the prupose of maintaining the morale of the men and providing an incentive in their training. The truth is that I would like to prevent friction with Britain and the United States as much as possible, and also bring about a state where we would collaborate as much as we can.'"

He (SAKONJI) said: "Some time ago Vice Admiral OIKAWA of the Third Fleet saw fully for himself the British

situation in South China. He expressly sent IWAMURA, Chief of Staff, as messenger, to say: 'The Army's methods in North China are rather unfavorable. The effects that they are producing are very bad.' He (OIKAWA through IWAMURA) said: 'I saw that Britain's might, which is centered around Hongkong, is tremendous. If they (Army) start anything in China with Britain as an adversary, the greater portion of their (Army's) strength will be taken up in opposing Britain. To oppose China with the remainder will be very difficult. Japan must expand in China by using Britain, and it is very undesirable to create friction with her.' Such facts have come to the attention of the leading Navy officials at present, and the ideas of Admiral NAGANO are leaning quite a bit toward pacifism." We parted after this discussion.

I met the Foreign Minister: In regard to Vice-Admiral SAKONJI's trip to Russia and the selection of personnel to accompany him, I asked: "Wouldn't it be advisable for the Foreign Ministry to talk to him about it?" I also told the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs about this.

On the 17th, Admiral KOBAYASHI came to my place and talked about Formosa, etc. He said: "There are already people who come to me and talk about positions as commissioner-general, etc., (trying to get appointments) but I am not paying any attention. I retort: 'How can I guarantee such things when I don't even know for sure whether I will become Governor-General (of Formosa)?'" I said: "It is better not to get involved until it (appointment) is realized." He went home after we talked about the present situation in the Navy, etc.

CONFIDENTIAL

In the morning of the 19th, I saw the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister said: 'The Emperor is scheduled to go to Hayama about July 10th. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal asked: 'What does the Government think about it?' I replied: 'Of course, there is no objection to his going. Even if it is during martial law, I think that it would be better if he goes.'"

He (Prime Minister) also said: "The soldiers around the official residence of the Prime Minister will be withdrawn, and I think that martial law will be removed about the middle of July. About the matter (of resignation) of the Governor-General of Formosa, Count KODAMA came to me recently and said that the Govenor-General himself has declared: 'I shall resign voluntarily at any time at the convenience of the Government.' Therefore, I don't think that it will be hard to handle."

On the night of the 19th I went to Okitsu. In the morning of the 20th I saw Prince SAIONJI and made a complete report up to the present. He said: 'The low-class newspapers like the Teikoku Shimbun and the Konyu Shimbun are making harsh attacks upon the Government. I wonder if there isn't something that can be done about that. Isn't that very cruel?"

Some of the governors who had come to the conference of prefectural governors had come to my place and talked about the North-eastern provinces (Tohoku). I told Prince SAIONJI about this. He said: "It is unreasonable to say: 'Long ago they ate rice with salt, and that's still good enough today,' and expect the people (of Tohoku) to be satisfied. The living standard of the people has risen, and people in other regions are eating

rice with been paste (miso) and soy sauce. Their (the people of Tohoku) standard must also be made comparable. You cannot say as in the old times: 'In your straitened circumstances, salt is enough.' Nowadays they speak of the masses, but if you speak too much of the masses, the progress of society will stop. In a certain sense, there is progress from extravagance and civilization has also advanced. Politicians must give that point much consideration."

CONFIDENTIAL

Saioji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 208
(1 July 1956)

Pu Yi and Peking

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the 23rd, I met the Prime Minister and discussed with him such problems as the reform of the House of Peers. HIROTA, Prime Minister, said: "Prince KONOYE, Finance Minister BABA, and I talked about this problem at Prince KONOYE's place." However, I (HARADA) think it ended in idle conversation. But the Prime Minister said: "In any case, I encouraged him (KONOYE) to become Vice-Chairman of the Investigation Committee on the reform of the House of Peers." The Prime Minister further stated in the talk about Privy Councillors: "I recommended YAMAMOTO, Tatsuo, however YAMAMOTO proposed TANAKA, Ryuzo and his (YAMAMOTO's) desire was: 'Please don't let on that anything was said to me about it.'" I (HARADA) told the Prime Minister casually about what Prince SAIONJI had said at Okitsu, and I parted with him that day.

On the 24th, I met the Foreign Minister. He stated: "We were rebuked by the Privy Council, which said; 'There was a secret article in the treaty on extra-territorial rights in Manchukuo. A newspaper reporter stole it from the Manchukuo Government. It has been published in a Tokyo newspaper. This is very outrageous.'" He (Foreign Minister) stated: "The document had been printed, and many copies had been left on the desk in the office of the Manchukuo official. One copy was stolen and flown to Tokyo. The Government apologized profusely to the Privy Council saying: 'We are very sorry.'"

ARITA, Foreign Minister, said: "At yesterday's Cabinet Conference, the Army and Navy said: 'Staple fiber is

CONFIDENTIAL

good enough.' in connection with the Australian problem. They also said: 'We need not necessarily use wool.'" Further, there was a rather critical report on the health of the conscripts among the nation's population, and he (ARITA) was very worried. He said: "We discussed the fact that we must study how to cope with the situation."

On the 25th, I met the Prime Minister: he consulted me saying: "I had an interview with HIRANUMA, President of the Privy Council, and talked to him about TANAKA, Ryuzo. The President approved it immediately. Among the Councillors, there is still another, Councillor ISHIHARA, who has not attended the meetings for quite some time due to illness. He has repeatedly said: 'I would like to resign at a suitable time.'

"The President (HIRANUMA) said: 'I would like to appoint someone as ISHIHARA's successor.' His (HIRANUMA's) desire was: 'I would like to put in HONDA, Kumataro. However, looking over the membership of the Privy Council, there is no one who is an expert in the Japanese and Chinese classics. If possible, since it would be difficult to select a pure Chinese classicist, I would like to have a Japanese classicist put in.' We talked about INOUYE, Michiyasu, but what do you think?"

I told him: "It may be troublesome for the Foreign Ministry, but on the whole, I think that HONDA, Kumataro, would be a better choice than INOUYE, Michiyasu. The reason is that INOUYE, Michiyasu, is a poet, and formerly corrected the poems of YAMAGATA. He is a questionable person in the poets' community. With his personality, he might easily be used as a figurehead by the rightists. I think that I foresee an atmosphere in which others will

CONFIDENTIAL

try to use INOUYE, Michiyasu, as a robot and make him work for them. I think there is some anxiety that he might create an atmosphere which will be unfavorable to the political situation as a whole. As for HONDA, his character and characteristics are well known. Therefore, wouldn't he be better?"

He (Prime Minister) said: "Baron OKURA has suggested that Prince KONOYE be made Chairman of the National Policy Investigation Committee which would assist the Cabinet. Instead of calling it the National Policy Investigation Committee, don't you think it is more advisable to place Prince KONOYE in a Chairmanship which would be over the present Chief of the Investigation Bureau of the Cabinet?" I thought that it would be better for Prince KONOYE to remain as the Speaker of the House of Peers, and I told him that. I left him that day, thinking that I would first like to talk to Prince SAIONJI about it.

On the 26th, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. I told him what the Premier had said that morning about the Privy Councillors. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was also opposed to INOUYE, Michiyasu as Councillor. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was very worried about the North China problem and said to me: "Last year in June General MINAMI had an audience with the Emperor of Manchukuo. It is said that he (Emperor of Manchukuo) said: 'We must make North China friendly in all respects to Japan and Manchukuo. If there is anyone in the southwest part of China who wants to be friendly with Japan, we must help them out. I would like to proceed by strongly asserting the armistice.' Thinking

this over, the statement that North China must be as friendly as possible to Japan and Manchukuo means, first of all, to make something like the Kitsi (puppet) Government and to help it to the limit. That is to say, the idea that they (Manchukuo) have been backing this Government (Kitsi), in an effort to pull North China to Manchukuo fits the Emperor's words. It is the same when you look at the present movements in southwest China.

"In regard to his statement that he wants to assert the armistice vigorously, the Nanking Government has armed patrol boats for the purpose of preventing smuggling. In order to check this smuggling, they are using the armistice as a shield so that smuggling will be difficult to carry out. Such a thing is going on at present.

"The Emperor of Manchukuo wants to return to Peking. They (Army) know that he feels that he would just as soon leave Manchukuo to Japan. They (Army) have hopes that if the Emperor returns to Peking, Manchukuo will be Japan's. The situation is such that the Emperor is aware of the Japanese Army's conspiracy (to aid his return to Peking so that they can take over Manchukuo).

"The people complain of the wilfulness and disobedience of the officials of the Kwantung Army at present. Even if the officials (of the Kwantung Army) are replaced, General HAYASHI is already familiar with this story. It seems to be true that the high officials (in Tokyo) are connected with this conspiracy. The assertions regarding the North China problem are the assertions of the Tosei-ha of the Army. The Russian problem is the assertion of the Kodo-ha.

"At the present time, General ARAKI of the Kodo-ha

has said: 'I didn't want to do the things that are being done in North China. No matter how much I didn't want them to do things like that, the situation in North China was already there. For instance, it is like telling someone not to get involved with a certain woman. There is nothing you can do about it if there already is a child, that is to say, if the woman is pregnant.'

"The Prime Minister has said: 'The present War Minister is engrossed in the purge of the Army. When that is over, he will probably be able to restore North China to normalcy.' However, I (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) doubt that. I think that the Prime Minister is somewhat too optimistic."

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was worried and said: "It is somewhat of a problem that HIRANUMA, Vice-President of the Privy Council, is telling the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister that he will get things done by being the go-between of the Army and the Foreign Ministry."

Regarding the problem of appointing INOUYE, Michiyasu, as Councillor, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal repeatedly said: "He is a person that we couldn't even appoint as Chief of the Imperial Poetry Bureau. He is entirely out of the question."

On the 27th, I went to Prince SAIONJI's place and made a general report. Prince SAIONJI said: "Regarding the story of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal on the Emperor of Manchukuo and the conspiracy of the Army, I cannot believe that the Emperor of Manchukuo spoke to that extent, or that he made any concrete statements. I can understand that he might have a desire to return to

Peking. However, I wonder a little about that problem as a whole. It is against my will to make remarks about people, especially about the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. However, isn't the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal somewhat too credulous of the words of the ronin? This is another matter, but he places too much confidence in the Empress Dowager. He thinks she is a very great person - or should I say, he considers her wiser than she actually is. She may be a wise person, but, after all, she is a woman. He should remember that fact in his associations. I am worried that he may cause trouble between the Emperor and the Empress Dowager."

On the 29th, I met the Foreign Minister. There wasn't any particularly serious problem in the Foreign Ministry at present, but he was worried about the personnel in the Foreign Ministry.

In the afternoon of the 30th, I met the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister said: "At the Cabinet meeting which convened this morning, they decided:

"1. That the Roma-ji (Romanization of Japanese Language) Committee shall be abolished.

"2. That Foreign Oil Concerns shall be required to stock three months' supply of oil (of the six months' legal stock requirement); that they shall be required to stock the remaining three months' supply as soon as oil storage tanks are erected.

"3. That the opinions on national policy of every Ministry shall be consulted; and, hereafter, the most urgent matters shall be given first consideration. Projects investigated by the Research Bureau and agreed upon by all Ministries concerned shall be executed as

soon as possible.

"4. That the Ministers are all enthusiastic about promoting national health; nevertheless, they do not feel that the establishment of a Health Ministry is as yet necessary."

I told him (Prime Minister) that Prince SAIONJI was worried about the supervision of low-grade newspapers. He (Prime Minister) said: "A Press Committee is to be established soon, and I would like to have it to handle the supervision." The Prime Minister stated: "Lt. Colonel AIZAWA appealed to a higher court, but he was finally sentenced to death this morning."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 209
(8 July 1936)

Execution of Aizawa

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

I had word from the Foreign Minister in the morning of the 1st: "Please come immediately as I want to see you." I went to see him, and he said: "I hear that HONDA, Kumataro, has been suggested for the vacancy in the Privy Council. This will mean perpetual trouble for the Foreign Ministry. The Prime Minister spoke to me about it. It may be all right for a while when he first becomes Councillor. However, HONDA has always had great self-confidence. He will assert himself if he doesn't approve of something. I think that HONDA's activities had quite a bit of effect on the way the London Treaty turned out. HIROTA, as an individual, might be happy over the fact that he had made him a Councillor. However, the Foreign Ministry will probably be perpetually troubled. Isn't there someone else who would be suitable? I explained this fully to the Prime Minister yesterday."

When ARAKI was mentioned for the position of Principal of the Peers' School, I (HARADA) did not express full approval to the Prime Minister. Later, I discussed this with KIDO. He said: "There is no question about him from the standpoint of his previous record. Isn't it also a suitable time to replace the Principal of the Peers' School?" I went again to the Prime Minister's place and said: "I don't think that there would be any objections to ARAKI." I let him know that I had changed my mind.

Lately, Count KODAMA and others have been very worried and have said: "We think that it will be very difficult unless a competent person gets in and takes an active

CONFIDENTIAL

interest before the budget is established. How about appointing KONOYE as Minister without Portfolio?" On the other hand, there were some who said: "Appoint him (KONOYE) as Chairman of the Investigation Bureau. Make him serve from some position of responsibility." I related this to Prince SAIONJI. Prince SAIONJI stated: "I think that it would be better for KONOYE to continue as President of the House of Peers."

Recently when KONOYE declined the Imperial Command and when the HIROTA Cabinet was formed, Prince SAIONJI told him: "Help HIROTA." KONOYE felt that he should. KIDO and I had also spoken to him in that vein. Especially on this occasion, Prince SAIONJI said, "Please relay to KONOYE: 'Assist the Cabinet further. Work for the Cabinet.'" I returned to Tokyo and told KONOYE about this. I also told the Prime Minister about it.

I again met the Prime Minister on the 2nd. He said at the Cabinet Meeting on the 3rd: "I think that I would like to talk about methods of discussing the budget." The Prime Minister also stated: "I met President HIRANUMA at the Privy Council. He said: 'Some people are extremely good, and some are extremely bad. Therefore, it's all right to abandon INOUYE, Michiyasu.' HIRANUMA insisted stubbornly: 'Please consider HONDA.' Since I wouldn't agree to it immediately, HIRANUMA said: 'There have been times before when as many as six vacancies existed (in the Privy Council). Therefore, it'll be all right to leave matters as they are for a while.' We parted with the matter still pending."

In the evening, Count FUTARA came over unexpectedly. He said: "HABESHIMA, Parliamentary Vice-Minister of

the Home Ministry, has started talking very pessimistically. Especially regarding the purge of the Army, he said: 'It's probably utterly impossible.' Is there any basis for such pessimism?"

At once I questioned the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board, the Chief of the Police Affairs Section of the Police Bureau, and the Chief of the Military Police: "Is there anything in the present situation which warrants uneasiness?" They replied: "There is nothing in particular at present. Of course, there may be something going on secretly. However, at present there isn't one concrete movement." The Chief of the Military Police said: "At five tomorrow morning (3rd), the death penalty of Lt. Colonel AIZAWA will be carried out."

On the 4th, I went to Okitsu. I made a general report on the situation (to Prince SAIONJI). I also told him that I had relayed his message to KONOYE. On the 5th, Commander TAKAGI of the Naval Affairs Bureau came to Oiso. He told me various things about the internal situation of the Navy. He said: "Generally speaking, the atmosphere is calm. The attitude of the Army is outrageous." After further conversation, he said: "I intend to make the rounds of the different naval bases very soon." I requested that he "take a good look at the state of affairs in the Navy."

TERAUCHI, War Minister, was also at his resort home in Oiso. I had phoned him that I was here, and that afternoon, he visited me. We talked about the internal situation in the Army. He said: "This is really distressing. In connection with this Incident (Feb. 26), there are those who, although they were not directly

involved, knew that there were plans and yet kept quiet. Some directly incited the men to action, and others who saw that, kept quiet. A really disgraceful group of men were gathered together.

"And yet, if all who were thus involved resigned, it would be difficult to find men to take their places. In August I am going to ask TATEKAWA to resign and have him withdraw. Around December, I intend to ask YANAGAWA, KOBATA, YAMASHITA, and their group to resign.

"In the insurgent group of the Feb. 26 Incident, there were thirteen active service officers, and three reserve officers. There were other soldiers and non-commissioned officers who have received prison terms. Today at four the final court decision will be handed down. I must be there so I am returning now to Tokyo. Prince SAIONJI is probably worried. Please tell him: 'I intend to carry this out to the limit.' The Kwantung Army can't be controlled as much as we like. It's very distressing." Regarding the Foreign Ministry, he (TERAUCHI) repeatedly said: "It's too bad that the Foreign Ministry gets into such circumstances because of lack of personnel."

On the 6th, I returned (to Tokyo). I met the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister. He (Foreign Minister) spoke about the internal situation in the Foreign Ministry. On the night of the 6th, I was invited to dinner by the Minister of Education, along with about ten members of the House of Peers. At that time the Education Minister talked about extending the period of compulsory education to eight years. He expounded its necessity. I was consulted. I said: "I shall get the War and Navy

Ministers to assent. I think that there is a need to have the War and Navy Ministers press this matter with the Finance Minister."

CONFIDENTIAL

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 210
(19 July 1936)

Leith Ross in China

Translated by Lieut. Morio Morihara

Early on the morning of the 8th, I talked with the Chief of the Military Police and visited his official residence. He said: "We expect to start the execution of the sentences of the rebel group about 5:00 A.M. on the 12th. Some of the reverberations which were heard after the publication of the sentences were as follows:

1. The financial world and the general public are expecting further evidences of the War Minister's clean-up of the Army in the future.

2. The rightists seem extremely dissatisfied and (a) KAWAKAMI's faction is saying: 'the punishment is too severe'. They consider that the military heads curried favor with the senior statesmen, and the extreme rightist organizations, such as the CHOKUSHIN DOJO, SHOGAI TO, NIPPON KOKUMIN DOMEI, SAITAMA TEISHINTAI, and the KANTO KOGUN DOMEI seem to want to do something by direct action. (b) They want to make the spirits of the executed members of the insurgent group live on. (c) Reformation of the political and economic systems has been considered and a united front of the rightists has arisen. It's objectives are: (1). The shutting off of supplies. (2). The desire to enter politics with this incident as a wedge. (3). Final service to the country by the execution of a Showa Restoration. This is divided into two: (a). The unity advocated by the 36 Club. (b). The faction led by NAKANO, Seigo, HASHIMOTO, Kingoro, ISHIHARA, Koichi, and Lt. General KOBAYASHI. The motto of the 36 Club, according to KOBAYASHI, Junichiro, is:

CONFIDENTIAL

'Since the people have begun to have ill feelings toward the Army, it is necessary to strengthen national defense to alleviate the strained relations between the Army and the people.' According to the NAKANO's members: 'The execution of the "southern policy" will bring about a reformation of politics, and the result will be the enforcement of the Shows Restoration.' The members conferring with the main senior statesmen have united strongly. Immediate steps will be taken to supress the Third International's so-called instigation and violence in order to destroy Red influence.

The Public Procurator's Office and the Metropolitan Police Bureau plan to deal with this situation in close coordination. General MAZAKI has been held since the 5th of July and is now being investigated, but MAZAKI's younger brother is in the Navy and is inciting the younger men by constantly saying at Yokosuka and Kamakura: 'It is outrageous to arrest General MAZAKI who is a senior in the First Army. This is the result of bargaining by the Genro and senior statesmen. If an emergency should arise we plan to arrest these men also. We arrested ISHIHARA, Koichiro, and upon questioning him thoroughly found that 360,000,000 yen have already been spent for rightist movements since 1933, and only about 1,000,000 yen were given to the present insurgent group. Besides this we have arrested and confined a man called MORI, Ren who is greatly trusted by Count KIYOURA, but who hails from the same province as General KAWASHIMA and is intimate with him. We discovered also that he gave ISOBE 500 yen. We also arrested and investigated TOKUGAWA, Yoshichika and TANAKA, Kunishige. TOKUGAWA, Yoshichika

and TANAKA, Kunishige planned to visit the Emperor and report on future events when the insurgent group succeeded. I also questioned General KATO and found out everything subsequent to the London Treaty. Since the Grand Chamberlain happened to be ill, we brought General SUZUKI, Takao and investigated him concerning various subjects. We also investigated General KIYOURA's relations with Prince HIGASHI-KUNI. Things are in a generally settled condition so please do not worry."

I agreed to meet him again and to keep everything absolutely secret.

On the 9th I went to the Sumitomo Bank. Sumitomo's Managing Director OHIRA said: "When the Foreign Minister met Leith ROSS, he told him of Japan's unshakable stand. After that Leith ROSS changed the subject and touched on the reorganization of the Central Bank of China. He related his desire to reorganize the Central Bank in order to escape the direct influence of political power. This talk was of great significance and the Japanese economic world would have to give serious consideration to it."

Since that was the Managing Director's story, I also went to the Foreign Minister's residence and said: "When he mentioned that he did not want to receive direct influence from political power, didn't he mean that in case a loan should be possible, he wanted to place an Englishman in the Bank?"

The Foreign Minister replied: "It means that they do not want the Bank to be influenced by China's internal affairs and it has no international political significance. They say they want to make it a Central bank of

a civilized country. If not, no matter how much they reform the monetary system, they will not be able to get sufficient results.' If this is an intentional plan to worry the bankers we will immediately take counter-measures and of course will not accept Englishmen."

On the 10th I went to Okitsu and reported the general situation to the Prince. The Prince repeated: "The Army is always stressing national defense. A certain form of diplomacy always enters into national defense, and we must make it so that when we raise a foreign loan, as many countries as possible will willingly respond. In this sense, to create an atmosphere where there will be response to our market for foreign loans is one form of national defense. This is very necessary to national defense but the present Army is always creating situations in which we will never be able to borrow money. This is silly. It would realize this if it only looked at world history."

On the 11th I talked with the Premier by telephone from Okitsu but nothing very much had happened. The removal of martial law seemed to be finally decided on for the 18th, and the Premier said: "On the 13th we are going to present it at the committee meeting of the Privy Council, and to decide on it at the Cabinet Conference on the 17th. The Cabinet Conference on the budget is in a state of confusion, although the various Ministers themselves have not said anything. Not only that, our estimates seem to leak out immediately so we will have the various Ministries present their consolidated views on paper about the 15th. The Finance Minister and I will confer on it and we plan to work gradually on it."

I then talked to the Minister of the Imperial Household by phone but there seemed to be no great changes. The Minister had said: "The Emperor may go to Hayama on the 20th."

I then telephoned the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. He said: "The various ministers get tense concerning matters of the budget and it is very difficult. The reason the War Minister visited me was to confer on the date for the lifting of martial law." I reported this matter in general to the Prince at his residence and returned to Tokyo on the following day. On the 13th I met the Premier. He said: "There was a demand from Governor-General UGAKI concerning the time for resigning." In other words the meaning was that: "If martial law should be lifted he would like to resign immediately. Furthermore there are persons who say: 'Isn't the Investigation Bureau going to usurp the budget deliberation rights of the Finance Ministry?' but that is not the case. I had them present the papers just to have the Investigation Bureau inspect the opinions towards national policy, and for my own reference."

I then met the Foreign Minister but there was no important happening. I then talked to the Premier by telephone. He said: "The War Minister hasn't told me anything that has been written in the papers. It seems as if he submitted a few figures concerning the budget."

On the 15th I accompanied the Prince and went to Gotemba from Okitsu. I returned from Gotemba but on the 17th I went again to the Prince's residence on business. I reported on the Foreign Minister's talk concerning German-Japanese relations. The Foreign Minister had said:

"The Army is constantly trying to become friendlier with Germany, although I can't tell you the details on the phone." At that time I only talked to that degree and returned to Tokyo.

At noon on the 18th I lunched with Police Affairs Bureau Chief HASHIMOTO and questioned him. He said the same thing as the Chief of Military Police and didn't have anything very important. I also met the Foreign Minister and he said: "Actually it is the Army's desire to conclude a secret treaty with Germany concerning Russia. Germany has also warmed up to this, and one of the agreements is that Germany will observe neutrality to the very end in case of a Russo-Japanese incident. Their agreement was 'to keep this an absolute secret.' The second agreement of the treaty is 'to make a coordinated defense plan against the comintern.' They agreed absolutely not to reveal number one. Concerning number two, Germany wants to reveal it, and the Japanese Army also wants to publish it. The first is desired by our Army, and the second one is desired by the Germans. The Foreign Ministry is saying: 'We think it is better not to reveal the second one also, because Japan must not be placed at a disadvantage as a result of Russian incitement of the world's laborers. We must consider this possibility.' This is very delicate. The Army seems to be afraid of the Russian attitude, and the sentiment has gradually appeared that: 'We will be in a fix if the other starts it. We would like to be on good terms with Germany also. In other words we would like to be on good terms with the rest of the countries of the world.' The Army is saying: 'We would like to conclude a German-

Japanese Treaty even a day sooner; but the Foreign Office does not want to incite the Soviets unnecessarily and is still considering it."